

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 DPW-01 EB-07 AID-05 /079 R

DRAFTED BY EA/P:STAFF:EB

APPROVED BY EA/P:AHROSEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

INFO ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

AMCONSUL BIEN HOA

AMCONSUL CAN THO

AMCONSUL DANANG

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL NHA TRANG

USDEL JEC PARIS

USSAGE NAKHON PHANOM THAILAND

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

COMDT COGARD WASHDC

BUREAU OF TREASURY WASHDC

XMT AMEMBASSY SUVA

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COGARD FOR POLAD

E.O.11652:NA

TAGS: PFOR XC US

SUBJECT: DECEMBER 2 EA PRESS SUMMARY

1. INDOCHINA

T

NYT'S SCHANBERG IN PP REVIEWS THE SITUATION OF THE 23

JOURNALISTS STILL MISSING IN CAMBODIA, MOST OF WHOM

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DISAPPEARED IN WAR'S EARLY DAYS. NVN INSISTS THAT

MATTER DOES NOT CONCERN IT, REFERS ALL QUERIES TO THE

KHMER SIDES. SIHANOUK HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR CAPTURED

NEWSMEN BUT PROVIDED NO INFO. US AND FRENCH JOURNALISTS'

COMMITTEES PRESS COMMUNIST SIDE FOR INFO, AND JAPANESE HAVE BEEN ACTIVE. PERSONS IN PP WHO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE THAT SOME NEWSMEN - AND POSSIBLY SOME US MILITARY MIAS - MAY BE ALIVE BUT SAY INFO IS INCONCLUSIVE AND THEY DON'T WANT TO RAISE FALSE HOPES. US EMBASSY CHECKS OUT EVERY REPORT IT GETS, HAS NO DEFINITE INFO.

SCHANBERG RECITES WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE FOUR AMCITS AMONG THEM. NOTES THAT PERIODIC REPORTS EMERGE OF SIGHTINGS, AND AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO FREE JOURNALISTS HELD IN SEA, HEADED BY CRONKITE, STATED EARLIER THIS YEAR THAT UP TO TEN MAY BE HELD BY INSURGENTS, BASED ON INFO FROM "HIGHLY RELIABLE SOURCES." COMMITTEE DESCRIBES JOURNALISTS' CAPTORS AS STUBBORN AND INDIFFERENT, SAYS EXACT IDENTITIES AND HEALTH OF

CAPTIVES NOT KNOWN.

LAT'S MCARTHUR (11/29) FROM SAIGON WRITES OF US CIVILIANS WHO TRY TO KEEP JOBS OR, IF LAID-OFF, HANG ON THERE. NOTES THAT 1300 CONTRACTOR JOBS TERMINATED IN OCT, 90 DAO POSITIONS DROPPED MORE RECENTLY AND ABOUT 100 AID JOBS WILL GO SOON, BUT OVER HALF OF THOSE TERMINATED HAVE NOT GONE HOME. 8500 US CIVILIANS REMAIN IN SVN, THOUGH NUMBER OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED HAS DROPPED NOTICEABLY. QUOTES US AIRLINE OFFICIAL THAT MANY KEEP EXTENDING PAPERS GOOD FOR RETURN TRIP TO US AND "EVERYBODY WANTS THEM OFF THE BOOKS, BUT THEY DON'T WANT TO GO BACK TO REALITY." MEANWHILE, WIVES AND CHILDREN COME IN LARGER NUMBERS WITH OVER 2000 IN US OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE COMMUNITIES, AS WELL AS A FEW MORE MISSIONARIES AND THREE FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS. NET RESULT IS THAT US COMMUNITY SEEMS MOMENTARILY STABLE, AT LOWEST NUMBER SINCE 1962. ALMOST ALL ARE IN SAIGON AREA.

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QUOTES ARTICLE IN NVN ARMY NEWSPAPER THAT ADMITTED THAT STREETS IMPROVED WITH DEPARTURE OF GIS AND THEIR TRAFFIC. ARTICLE'S VIEW OF SAIGON WAS "MEDIUM ROSE-TINTED.' MCARTHUR SEES US OFFICIALS AND EMBASSY TYPES AS GENERALLY UNCOMPLAINING, SAYS FEW VOLUNTEER NOWADAYS BUT THOSE SENT FREQUENTLY EXTEND TOURS. BELIEVES CIVILIANS WHO STAY ON DO SO LARGELY FOR MONEY AND OFTEN BECAUSE THEY HAVE MARRIED LOCAL GIRLS "FORMALLY OR INFORMALLY." NOTES THAT 10-20 AMCITS ARE IN JAIL AT ANY TIME; CONSULAR OFFICER WAS RECENTLY AMAZED WHEN HE MADE DEAL WITH GVN TO HAVE MOST PRISONERS RELEASED IF THEY LEFT COUNTRY, BUT ALL DECIDED TO SERVE OUT SENTENCES SO THEY COULD STAY IN

SVN. COUNTS US MIL PRESENCE AS 74 MARINE GUARDS AND 48 ARMY, NAVY AND AF OFFICERS IN DAO.

WP'S AARONS INTERVIEWS AND DOES BIO SKETCH ON GEN. PEERS. ON MY LAI, QUOTES PEERS THAT CHAIN OF COMMAND WAS LAX AND INJUSTICES EXISTED, AS WELL AS COVER-UP. ADDS THAT SOME PEOPLE THEORIZE THAT REPORT DAMAGED PEERS FUTURE PROSPECTS, THOUGH GEN. FEELS THERE IS NO LINK BETWEEN REPORT AND CONCLUSION OF HIS MIL CAREER.

2. CHINA

REUTER'S SHARP, IN NE CHINA, REVIEWS OIL SITUATION. SAYS WHILE PRC'S ESTIMATED 50-MILLION TON OUTPUT

"IS NOT ALL THAT MUCH," MANY NON-CHINESE EXPERTS ARE CONVINCED PEKING IS SITTING ON ENOUGH UNTAPPED OIL TO TRANSFORM ITS AGRARIAN SOCIETY. ONLY IMPEDIMENT APPEARS LACK OF TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL, AND "PROUD RELUCTANCE" TO LET OTHER COUNTRIES SUPPLY THEM.

TACHING OIL FIELD PRODUCES MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF NATION'S ENTIRE OUTPUT, AND OFFICIALS THERE CHEERFULLY REEL OFF STATISTICS ABOUT HOW WELL SIDE INDUSTRIES RUN BY LOCAL HOUSEWIVES ARE DOING. THEY WILL NOT SAY HOW MUCH OIL IS PRODUCED AT TACHING, BUT DISCLOSE UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT RATE OF EXPANSION HAS AVERAGED 31 PERCENT PER YEAR SINCE FIELD OPENED IN 1960; AND OUTPUT ROSE 26 PERCENT IN FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1974. ACCORDING TO CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS, WHO LED US TRADE DELEGATION LAST MONTH, PEKING COULD BE EXPORTING BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF HIGH GRADE OIL WITHIN FIVE YEARS, AND TWO BILLION IN TEN.

CHINESE COULD ACQUIRE NEEDED EXPERTISE IN OFFSHORE DRILLING UNDER DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN OR US. BUT ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE BOUGHT SOME OFFSHORE DRILLING EQUIPMENT, THEY SEEM DETERMINED TO KEEP ACTUAL OPERATION IN THEIR OWN HANDS, WHICH WILL SLOW EXPLOITATION.

JOC'S STRAUSS, IN HK, REPORTS PRC MAINTAINS INTEREST IN IMPROVING CONTAINERIZED TRANSPORT FACILITIES AND MOVING GRADUALLY INTO THIS MORE EFFICIENT TRANSPORT METHOD. CHINA'S FIRST ARTICLE ON CONTAINERS -- PUBLISHED IN JOC'S JUNE CONTAINER TRANSPORT SUPPLEMENT -- GAVE PROBABLY MOST REVEALING GLIMPSE OF PEKING'S CONCEPT OF TRANSPORTATION AND WAS FOUND RATHER STARTLING BY HK CONTAINER SHIPPING EXECUTIVES BECAUSE IT SHOWED

HOW DIFFERENTLY CHINESE VIEW CONTAINER TRANSPORT.
ARTICLE REVEALED CHINESE CONCERN THAT CONTAINER SHIPS
REQUIRE SPECIAL WHARFAGES WITH SPECIAL MACHINES AND
EQUIPMENT, MAKING INITIAL INVESTMENT COST RATHER GREAT.

SHIPPING EXECUTIVES RECENTLY IN CHINA REPORT THERE IS
PROBLEM OF OBTAINING CAPITAL, AND SO CONTAINER TRANSPORT
REMAINS IN EXPERIMENTAL STAGE. ONE RECENT VISITOR TO
HSINKANG, WHERE CHINESE OFFICIALS TOLD VISITORS THEY
WILL HAVE COMPLETED CONTAINER BERTH BY 1976, COMMENTED
THAT THEY WERE "FOOLING AROUND WITH CONTAINERS" --
"JUST PUSHING AROUND" CONTAINERS, USING MAINLY
FORK-LIFTS AND TRUCKS, AND THAT ONLY SIX SMALL CONTAINERS
WERE ON THE QUAY. SHANGHAI'S FACILITIES WERE

DESCRIBED AS "A MESS," AND PORT AUTHORITIES WERE INCLINED
TO BLAME SITUATION ON PRE-1949 CAPITALIST OWNERSHIP.

HK RETURNED TO PRC SECOND GROUP OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS
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FROM CHINA SUNDAY, UNDER NEW HK PROGRAM TO ROUND UP
"FREEDOM SWIMMERS" AND OTHER ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS.
HK HAD NOT RETURNED REFUGEES SINCE 1962 (AP, PHINQ;
REUTER, NYT; CSM). JOC'S STRAUSS, IN HK, SAYS THAT
IN ADDITION TO ANNUAL INFLUX OF MORE THAN 55,000
ALLOWED TO ENTER LEGALLY FROM PRC, ESTIMATED 24,000
LEAVE ILLEGALLY, AND COST IS NOW BEING MEASURED IN
SCARCE RESOURCES AND IN PLANS FOR SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS.

3. PHILIPPINES

GOP SAYS MARCOS IS STILL TARGET OF ASSASSINATION PLOT
ORGANIZED BY SOME POLITICAL FOES IN 1972. EURGENIO
LOPEZ, PUBLISHER OF BANNED MANILA CHRONICLE, AND SERGIO
OSMENA III RECENTLY ENDED 11-DAY HUNGER STRIKE IN
RETURN FOR WHAT SOME SOURCES SAID WAS GOVT PROMISE TO
BEGIN RELEASING POLITICAL PRISONERS (WP).

PHINQ QUOTES GOP THAT MARCOS STILL TARGET OF ASSASSINATION
PLOT, AND THAT "HIGH INTELLIGENCE SOURCES" STATE PLOT
HALTED BY IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW "REACTIVATED."
SAYS REPORTS ARE LATEST IN SERIES OF REVELATIONS
EVIDENTLY INTENDED TO COUNTER PUBLICITY GENERATED BY
FAST OF LOPEZ AND OSMENA.

4. KOREA

NK SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY UNANIMOUSLY ELECTS
KIM-DONG-GYU AS VICE PRESIDENT, KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS
AGENCY REPORTED SUNDAY (AP, NYDN).

5. MALAYSIA

CURFEW IS IMPOSED IN SUNGAI DUA AREA FOLLOWING EXCHANGE OF FIRE BETWEEN SECURITY PATROL AND COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS (AP, WP).

6. INDONESIA

REUTER (JAKARTA) REPORTS FORMER ENVOY TO US SUDJATMOKO AND JOURNALIST MOCHTAR LUBIS HAVE BEEN BARRED FROM UNCLASSIFIED

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LEAVING INDONESIA AND ORDERED TO BE AVAILABLE FOR QUESTIONING IN CONNECTION WITH LAST JANUARY'S RIOTING

IN WHICH 11 PEOPLE WERE KILLED, ACCORDING TO BAKIN SPOKESMAN.

7. BURMA

U THANT'S BODY RETURNED TO HOMELAND FOR BURIAL (AP SUN, PHINQ; REUTER, WP).

8. SINGAPORE

JOC'S NAMBEIL IN SINGAPORE DESCRIBES IT AS MAJOR LINK IN WORLD CHAIN OF CONTAINER PORTS, CREDITS LEE KWAN YEW WITH MAKING ISLAND INTO MANUFACTURING CENTER FOR MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS. SEES GOVT AS BUSINESS-ORIENTED, NOTES THAT IN PAST FIVE YEARS ABOUT HALF OF INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS CAME FROM US.

9. JAPAN

WP'S OBERDORFER, IN TOKYO, REPORTS LDP ELDERS AGREE TO NAME MIKI TO SUCCEED FORMER PM TANAKA, "AT LEAST ON INTERIM BASIS." POLITICAL OBSERVERS QUOTED BY KYODO INTERPRET WIDELY FAVORABLE REACTION TO SURPRISE CHOICE TO MEAN MIKI "VIRTUALLY CERTAIN" TO GET POST DESPITE SIGNS OF POSSIBLE POLITICAL BATTLE YET TO COME. TANAKA WITHHOLDS COMMENT, AND LEADING CONTENDER OHIRA "RESERVES POSITION"; BUT OTHER MAJOR CONTENDERS (FUKUDA AND NAKASONE), SATO AND ALMOST ALL LDP MINOR FACTION LEADERS REPORTEDLY FAVOR CHOICE.

NYDN (UPI TOKYO) SAYS SHIINA NOMINATED MIKI IN MEETING WITH FOUR STRONGEST CONTENDERS, MIKI, OHIRA, FUKUDA AND NAKASONE. CHOICE NOW GOES TO LDP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. PHINQ SAYS NOMINATION LACKS SUPPORT OF TWO KEY FACTION LEADERS, OHIRA, WHO INSISTS ON ELECTION, AND FUKUDA, WHO WANTS SUCCESSOR CHOSEN

BY PARTY LEADERS.
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GLOBE (UPI) REPORTS THREAT BY THREE TOP LDP OFFICERS TO RESIGN IN PROTEST AGAINST MIKI CHOICE BECAUSE THEY NOT CONSULTED: SEC GEN NIKAI DO, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN SUZUKI AND POLICY RESEARCH COUNCIL CHAIRMAN YAMANAKA. GLOBE SAYS OHIRA INSISTENCE ON ELECTION OF SUCCESSOR "REMAINS UNCHANGED," SPELLING TROUBLE FOR MIKI NOMINATION, SINCE OHIRA AND TANAKA FOLLOWERS ACCOUNT FOR 40 PCT OF LDP DIET MEMBERS WHO VOTE IN

SUCH ELECTION.

CDN'S BEECH (11/27) EARLIER FORECAST FULL-SCALE POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN LDP TO NAME SUCCESSOR TO TANAKA. QUOTES PARTY "INSIDERS" SAYING LDP WOULD FOLLOW RITUAL OF CONSENSUS POLITICS, BUT THIS ROUTE DOOMED TO FAILURE BECAUSE OHIRA, WITH SUPPORT FROM TANAKA, WOULD HAVE ENOUGH STRENGTH TO FORCE ELECTION WHICH HE WOULD PROBABLY WIN.

CSM'S SOUTHERLAND, IN TOKYO, WRITES THAT SHIINA BROKE DEADLOCK IN PARTY NEGOTIATIONS BY NAMING MIKI, WHO SEEN AS "MR. CLEAN -- LIKE MR. FORD." HOWEVER, SOUTHERLAND SPECULATES MIKI, "SHOULD HE GET PARTY PRESIDENCY," MAY ONLY SERVE AS CARETAKER FOR REMAINDER OF TANAKA'S TERM, ENDING NEXT JULY, THUS SIMPLY POSTPONING OHIRA-FUKUDA CONFRONTATION WHILE FAILING TO RECONCILE DIFFERENCES WITHIN PARTY.

AP (TOKYO) REPORTS DECISION BY TANAKA TO ACCEPT MIKI NOMINATION. TANAKA'S 90-MEMBER FACTION SET TO MEET LATER IN DAY TO DECIDE ITS POSITION.

EAST GERMAN OFFICIALS FEAR TRADE WITH JAPAN WILL NOT INCREASE ABOVE 1973 LEVEL OF \$290 MILLION, UNLESS JAPAN EXTENDS EAST GERMANY SAME TRADE BENEFITS US GETS. JAPAN AND EAST GERMANY OPENED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN 1973 (WSJ).

JAPANESE TRADE PRESS LOOKS TO FULL RESUMPTION OF PRIVATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT EARLY IN JFY 75, FOR NEW PLANT CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO AVERT POSSIBLE FUTURE SHORTAGES.
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TREMENDOUS INVESTMENTS" UNDER DISCUSSION WOULD HELP APAN ACHIEVE COMMONLY PREDICTED REAL GROWTH RATE OF 8 PERCENT OVER LAST HALF OF DECADE (JOC TOKYO).

OC'S CULLISON, IN TOKYO, DESCRIBES MITI OFFICIALS'

ONCERN THAT JAPAN MAY RECORD FIRST POSTWAR YEAR OF
EGATIVE GROWTH IN JFY 75 AS ECONOMY GROWS INCREASINGLY
SLUGGISH. -

LOBE'S LANGER (12/1) REPORTS VISIT TO BOSTON BY FOUR
EMBERS OF JAPAN COUNCIL AGAINST ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN
OMBS DELEGATION WHICH PETITIONED UN TO WORK FOR NUKE
AN, AND REMOVAL OF ALL NUKES ABROAD TO COUNTRIES OF
RIGIN. VISITORS SHARE CONCERN OF SOME AMERICANS ABOUT

NUCLEAR POWER PLANT SAFETY AND DANGER OF FISSIONABLE
MATERIAL THEFT BY TERRORISTS, BUT STRESS FEAR OF
RADIATION MORE PERVASIVE IN JAPAN, WHERE THEY CLAIM
10,000 PATIENTS PER YEAR ADMITTED TO HIROSHIMA ABCC
HOSPITAL FOR TREATMENT OF BURNS SUFFERED IN 1945. SUCH
FEARS, THEY SAY, MAKE IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO BUILD
NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS IN JAPAN.

COMMENT AND ANALYSIS

10. CAMBODIA

WP SAYS UN AFFIRMED WORTHY PRINCIPLE THAT A LEGITIMATE
GOVT SHOULD NOT BE UNSEATED WHEN IT REJECTED KR BID
TO TAKE OVER SEAT OF LON NOL REGIME. NOTING UNGA
RESOLUTION INSTRUCTING SECRETARY GENERAL TO SEEK STEPS
TO BRING PEACE BETWEEN CAMBODIAN ADVERSARIES AND
EAGERNESS OF GKR TO NEGOTIATE, SAYS KR MUST CONSIDER
WHETHER A PROPER CONCERN TO RELIEVE SUFFERING OF
CAMBODIAN PEOPLE DOES NOT REQUIRE THEM TO EXPLORE
DIFFERENT ROUTE TO THEIR POLITICAL GOAL. AND THEY
MUST CONSIDER THAT US AID TO PP IS FALLING TO LEVEL
WHERE, IN AMERICAN POLITICAL CONTEXT, THE AID MAY BE
EASIER TO SUSTAIN.

11. CHINA
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GLOBE AND MAIL'S JOHN BURNS (CSM) SAYS DIPLOMATS IN
PEKING SEE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PRES. WILL VISIT PRC
AS MANIFESTATION OF CONTINUING MOMENTUM IN SINO-US
RAPPROCHEMENT. THEY THINK IT UNLIKELY THAT CHINESE
WOULD HAVE INVITED, OR PRES. ACCEPTED, UNLESS TWO
SIDES HAD ALREADY DECIDED THAT VISIT CAN BE USED AS
LCCASION FOR NEXT MAJOR MOVE IN NORMALIZATION OF
RELATIONS. BURNS SAYS FROM REMARKS HAK MADE BEFORE
;ND DURING VISIT, IT IS CLEAR THE US IS READY FOR
DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION IF TERMS ARE RIGHT. PRC
UBLIC POSITION ON TAIWAN HAS BEEN UNCOMPROMISING, BUT
;S OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN HINTING SINCE HAK'S VISIT
AST YEAR THAT THE POSITION STAKED OUT BY CHINESE
N SECRET DISCUSSIONS IS MORE FLEXIBLE AND MIGHT

LOW FOR COMPROMISE IN WHICH WASHINGTON WOULD KEEP
OME KIND OF DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY NEXUS WITH
AIWAN AFTER RECOGNIZING PEKING. ASSUMPTION AMONG
IPLOMATS IS THAT HAK, WHILE PLAYING DOWN IMPORT AND
RGENCY OF RECOGNITION ISSUE LAST WEEK, WAS PROBING
OR DEFINITION OF COMPROMISE THAT PEKING WOULD ACCEPT.
NNOUNCEMENT OF FORD VISIT REGARDED AS GOOD INDICATION

THAT HE HAD SOME SUCCESS.

CSM EDITORIAL VIEWS PRC INVITATION FOR PRESIDENTIAL
VISIT AS INDICATIVE THAT PEKING STILL PLACES HIGH
IMPORTANCE ON US AS STRATEGIC COUNTERWEIGHT TO USSR.
BUT SIGNALS FROM PEKING SUGGEST CHINESE ARE LESS THAN
HAPPY WITH PRESENT STATE OF RELATIONS. THEY WERE
NETTLED BY VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT; RECEPTION THEY GAVE HAK
WAS CORRECT BUT THIS IS FIRST TIME HE DID NOT MEET
WITH MAO; NOR DID UNUSUALLY SHORT COMMUNIQUE SAY PROGRESS
HAD BEEN MADE IN TALKS. SOME AGILE DIPLOMATIC FOOTWORK
WILL BE REQUIRED TO PREPARE GROUND FOR PRES. VISIT;
SUMMITS ARE NOT HELD WITHOUT RESULTS. FORMULA WILL
HAVE TO BE FOUND TO RESOLVE DILEMMA OF RECOGNIZING
TAIWAN AS PART OF CHINA WITHOUT ABANDONING US COMMITMENTNOT
TO END FRIENDSHIP FOR TAIPEI, AND TO ENABLE PRC AND
US TO UPGRADE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN THEIR
RESPECTIVE CAPITALS. SINO-US TRADE, HEAVILY LOPSIDED
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IN US FAVOR, AND CHINESE DESIRE FOR NORMAL TRADE
TARIFF TREATMENT WERE OTHER ISSUES UNDOUBTEDLY AIRED
IN HAK'S VISIT. VISIT MUST BE COUNTED IMPORTANT BECAUSE
HAK MUST DEVELOP THE POLITICAL AND ECON TIES WITH CHINA
THAT WILL KEEP MOMENTUM GOING AFTER MAO AND CHOU.

NYT'S LELYVELD IN TOKYO VIEWS CHINESE INVITATION TO
PRES AS RAISING PRESSURE ON US TO SAY WHEN IT WILL
FINALLY DECLARE THAT THE CHINA IT RECOGNIZES IS GOVERNED
FROM PEKING AND NOT TAIPEI. NOTES THAT QUESTION OF
ELEVATING MISSIONS TO EMBASSY LEVEL IS MORE THAN FORMALITY
BECAUSE OF SENSITIVE AND EMOTIONAL ISSUE OF TAIWAN, BUT
CITES SOME DIPLOMATS IN PEKING AS BELIEVING THAT PRC
MIGHT BE PREPARED FOR FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEFORE
COMPLETE US MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT FROM TAIWAN. IF
THIS IS TRUE, WHY HAS US HELD BACK? SAYS KEY FACTOR IN
ANSWERING APPEARS TO BE HAK'S EXTREMELY PERSONAL BRAND
OF DIPLOMACY AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT.

EVER SINCE HIS DRAMATIC 1971 UNDERCOVER MISSION TO
PEKING, HAK HAS HELD HIS CHINA HAND CLOSE TO HIS CHEST.
BUT IN THE LAST YEAR ESPECIALLY, IT HAD BEEN OBVIOUS
TO PRC LEADERS AND ANYONE ELSE THAT HAK HAS BEEN
PREOCCUPIED WITH ME AND SALT NEGOTIATIONS, NOT CHINA.

HAK LIKES TO SAY HE DEALS WITH LARGER STRATEGIC CONCEPTS AND NOT DIPLOMATIC DETAILS. IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE OF THE CHINA RELATIONSHIP WAS

LARGELY WON WHEN MOSCOW WAS FORCED TO TAKE IT INTO ACCOUNT. AND FROM HAK'S PERSPECTIVE, NORMALIZATION IS NOT A MATTER OF GRAND STRATEGY BUT A DETAIL TO BE RESOLVED SOONER OR LATER, PREFERABLY LATER. THE CHINESE, BY CONTRAST, MAY FIND STRATEGIC VALUE IN NORMALIZATION. THEIR INABILITY TO WREST FULL DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION YET EXPOSES AN APPARENT LACK OF LEVERAGE. MOREOVER, HAVING WITNESSED NIXON'S FALL, PRC LEADERSHIP MAY BE LESS INCLINED TO TAKE HAK'S CONTINUED TENURE IN OFFICE FOR GRANTED. THAT WOULD BE REASON FOR WANTING TO FORMALIZE ANY UNDERSTANDINGS THEY MIGHT HAVE WITH HIM. FINALLY, THEY MAY THINK IT IMPORTANT TO TAKE NEXT UNCLASSIFIED

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STEP WHILE MAO AND CHOU ARE STILL ALIVE. THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY A CONSIDERATION FOR US. IT IS WIDELY ASSUMED THAT ELEMENTS IN CHINESE LEADERSHIP AND PLA FEEL THAT MAO HAS BEEN TOO INFLEXIBLE IN RELATIONS WITH USSR; IN SUCCESSION CRISIS, THEY MIGHT SEEK TO RAISE ANTE ON RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON.

REPORTS EMERGING FROM HAK'S TRIP THAT CHINESE WERE ESSENTIALLY SATISFIED WITH RELATIONSHIP WITH WASHINGTON AS IT NOW STANDS HAD NO BASIS IN OFFICIAL CHINESE STATEMENTS, LELYVELD MAINTAINS. FACT THAT HAK WAS NOT INVITED TO MEET MAO, WHOM HE VISITED ON TWO PREVIOUS TRIPS, IS CONSIDERED ALMOST CERTAINLY AN IMPORTANT SIGNAL OF DISSATISFACTION. MAO HAS HAD TIME FOR VISITORS OF LESSER CONSEQUENCE, AND THERE HAS BEEN NO HINT HE WAS INDISPOSED LAST WEEK.

INVITATION TO FORD GIVES US ALMOST A YEAR TO COME UP WITH RESPONSE TO STILL-UNDIVULGED CHINESE TERMS FOR NORMALIZATION. IT DEMONSTRATES ALSO CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF US RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA, AND SHOWS MOST OF ALL THAT PRC WANTS MORE THAN ANNUAL VISIT BY HAK. A RESPONSE TO THIS REQUIRES A MEASURE OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY NO SECSTATE CAN HAVE. CHINA'S CONTINUED EXPRESSION OF NOSTALGIA FOR NIXON IS ANYTHING BUT SENTIMENTAL. SHE SEEMS TO BE REGISTERING AWARENESS THAT IT WAS NIXON WHO REALLY ESTABLISHED THE RELATIONSHIP. AND THEY SEEM TO BE SAYING THEY NOW EXPECT HIS SUCCESSOR TO MAKE NEXT MOVE.

LAT (NOV. 28) NOTES THAT USSR AND PRC SEE IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH US AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THEIR CONFRONTATION, AND US DIPLOMACY HAS RESPONDED TO THAT

OPENING. VIEWS CONTINUING USSR-PRC ANTAGONISM
SERVING US INTERESTS SO LONG AS IT DOES NOT ERUPT INTO

ACTUAL CONFLICT. US HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH CREATION
OF SINO-SOVIET RIVALRIES, BUT IT HAS BEEN ABLE, IN
A PRODUCTIVE SENSE, TO EXPLOIT THEM. HAK WENT TO
PEKING IN PART TO REASSURE CHINESE THAT NO DEAL INIMICAL
TO THEIR INTERESTS WAS STRUCK WITH RUSSIANS. THIS
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KIND OF DIPLOMACY IS NOT CALCULATED TO LEAD TO DRAMATIC
BREAKTHROUGH, BUT IT IS THE KIND THAT WORKS TO PREVENT
ANY EROSION IN IMPROVEMENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED. FOR NOW,
THAT IS ALL THAT CAN BE EXPECTED, AND IT IS WELL WORTH
DOING.

POST'S OBERDORFER IN PEKING WRITES FEATURE ON HOW USLO
CHIEF BUSH AND HIS WIFE ARE ADJUSTING TO QUIET LIFE
IN PEKING AFTER BUSY LIFE IN US. NOTES BUSH HAS BEGUN
ATTENDING NATIONAL DAY RECEPTIONS, BOTH SEEK OUT
CHINESE CONTACTS, AND HAVE EVEN BEEN BICYCLING TO
PARTIES. QUOTES CANADIAN NEWSMAN THAT BUSH IS "INSTANT
SUCCESS", BUT THAT REAL TEST WILL COME WHEN 'NOVELTY
WEARS OFF AND HIS ENTHUSIASM RUNS DOWN."

12. JAPAN

HARVARD'S EZRA VOGEL (GLOBE NOV 30) ATTRIBUTES TANAKA'S
DOWNFALL PRIMARILY TO HIS BELATED RECOGNITION THAT
CONTROLLING INFLATION WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ECON
GROWTH.

13. KOREA

STLPD (NOV 24) SAYS IF PRES FORD VOICED ANY US DISPLEASURE
WITH PARK'S REPRESSIVE REGIME WHILE IN SEOUL, HE DID
SO AS DISCREETLY AS POSSIBLE. NOTES NO HINT OF ANY
DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN FORD AND PARK IN COMMUNIQUE RELEASED
AFTER CONCLUSION OF THEIR TALKS. SAYS WHATEVER ELSE
RESULTS FROM TRIP, FORD HAS TARNISHED AMERICAN IMAGE
ABROAD BY REFUSAL TO CONDEMN THE MOCKERY PARK HAS MADE
OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES FOR WHICH US SOLDIERS FOUGHT AND
DIED. VIEWS AS MOST REVEALING STATEMENT OF COMMUNIQUE,
AGREEMENT THAT "CONTINUED PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT
IN KOREA BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER FOREIGN
COUNTRIES IS DESIRABLE," ADDING THAT PARK MIGHT WELL
SUSPECT THAT HE CAN ESCAPE CENSURE FROM HIS WESTERN
ALLIES SO LONG AS HIS COUNTRY REMAINS FINANCIALLY
ATTRACTIVE.

5. INDONESIA
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AT'S ELEGANT (NOV 29), IN JAKARTA, FINDS THAT, "IN CHARACTERISTICALLY INDONESIAN FASHION," POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS THERE ARE MOVING WITH UTMOST DELIBERATION; COUNTRY IS SUBJECT NEITHER TO OUTRIGHT DICTATORSHIP NOR WIDESPREAD SUPPRESSION, BUT ITS LIBERALS ARE ALARMED BY "CREEPING TOTALITARIANISM" AND THOUGHTS OF WHAT COULD HAPPEN IN FUTURE. THOUGHTFUL INDONESIANS ARE DISMAYED BY CONTRAST BETWEEN THEIR ANTICIPATIONS OF FEW YEARS AGO AND SOMBER REALITY. NATION'S POLITICS ARE PRIMARILY ROILED BY COMPLEX STRUGGLE FOR POWER AMONG RULING FACTIONS THAT WAS SET OFF WHEN STUDENTS DEMONSTRATED AND HOOLIGANS RIOTED IN JANUARY -- OSTENSIBLY TO PROTEST JAPANESE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION DURING TANAKA'S VISIT, BUT REAL MESSAGE WAS SOCIAL PROTEST. ARMY OVER-REACTED, KILLING AT LEAST 13 DEMONSTRATORS. SINCE THEN, GOVT HAS CONTINUED TO OVER-REACT TO PRESUMED THREAT. ONE FACTION IS TRYING TO PROVE THAT CONSPIRACY EXISTS TO OUST SUHARTO, AND THEIR CHARGES SERVE PERSONAL ENDS OF RIVAL FACTIONS WITHIN POWER STRUCTURE. THESE ACTIONS ARE NARROWING SUHARTO'S POWER BASE AND HE IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED FROM POPULAR OPINION.;

BECAUSE OF EXAGGERATED FEARS AND WOUNDED SELF-ESTEEM, GOI HAS ARRESTED ABOUT 40 PRESUMED CONSPIRATORS; IT ALSO CLOSED DOWN LIBERAL NEWSPAPERS AND HAS PLACED A NUMBER OF LEADING INTELLECTUALS UNDER "COUNTRY ARREST." THEY MAY TALK FREELY AND EVEN PUBLISH WITHIN LIMITS; BUT THEY MAY NOT LEAVE THE COUNTRY. MOST EVIDENCE TENDS TO SUPPORT GLOOMY PREDICTION OF LAWYER WHO BELIEVES THAT IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER SOCIAL EXPLOSION WILL COME, BUT WHEN.
ADD CHINA

S-N'S OSWALD JOHNSTON (GLOBE NOV 30) IN TOKYO VIEWS ANNOUNCEMENT OF FORD TRIP TO CHINA NEXT YEAR AS ONLY POSITIVE FACT TO EMERGE FROM HAK'S WEEK'S TALK IN PEKING. OFFICIALS INSIST THAT IDEA FOR FORD VISIT WAS INITIATED BY CHINESE; THEY DECLINE TO SPECULATE WHY, BUT TWO LINES OF REASONING EMERGED. PRIMARILY, IT IS UNCLASSIFIED

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SUGGESTED, PRC LEADERSHIP WANTS TO BALANCE FORD-BREZHNEV SUMMIT WITH SUMMIT OF ITS OWN - VIEW OF GREAT-POWER RELATIONSHIPS THAT IS CLOSE TO HAK'S. SECONDARILY, CHINESE DISSATISFACTION WITH PACE OF SINO-US RELATIONSHIP

IS WIDELY REPORTED IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES IN PEKING, AND FORD VISIT AT CHINA'S REQUEST WOULD ADD WEIGHT TO SUCH

REPORTS. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS SUMMARIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE264701
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/P:STAFF:EB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 NA
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740349-0857
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741276/abbrzaem.tel
Line Count: 598
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 11
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kelleyw0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 MAY 2002 by colstocv>; APPROVED <19 FEB 2003 by kelleyw0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DECEMBER 2 EA PRESS SUMMARY
TAGS: PFOR, XC, US
To: SAIGON INFO ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS
BIEN HOA
CAN THO
DANANG
HONG KONG
NHA TRANG
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USSAGE NAKHON PHANOM THAILAND
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Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005